



# THE NICENE CREED AND THE FILIOQUE

THOMAS RICHEY



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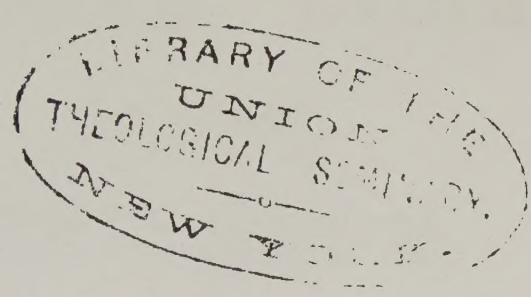
# The Nicene Creed And The Filioque

Thomas Richey

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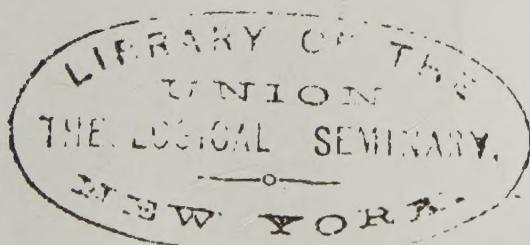
THE  
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AND THE  
FILIOQUE.

BY  
THOMAS RICHEY, D.D.  
PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, G. T. S.

(REPRINTED, WITH NOTES AND APPENDIX, FROM THE CHURCH ECOLEOTIC.)

Καὶ διπερ τρέπον δ τοῦ συνάπτεως σπόρος, ἐν μικρῷ κόκκῳ, πολλοὺς περιέχει τοὺς κλάδους, οὗτοι καὶ ἡ Πίστις αὕτη, ἐν ολίγοις δῆμασι, πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ καὶ καινῇ τῆς εὐσεβεῖας γνῶσιν ἀγκεκόλπισται.—S. CYRIL HIEROS.

NEW YORK:  
E. & J. B. YOUNG & CO.  
1884.



THE

# WICHEN ORKHE

BY ERNST

## BLITZEN

18.

ALFRED RAMSEY

A collection of sketches in prose and verse

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The author wishes to thank his friends for their kind help  
and advice in the preparation of this work, especially those members of the  
writing staff who have had the pleasure of reading it, and for their  
kindly interest in its publication.

CHARLES  
EDWARD COOPER

Editor

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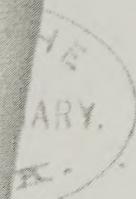
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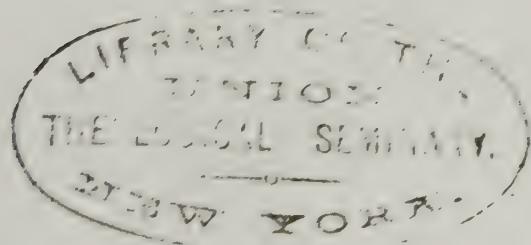
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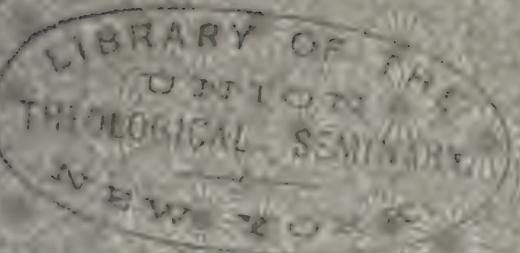
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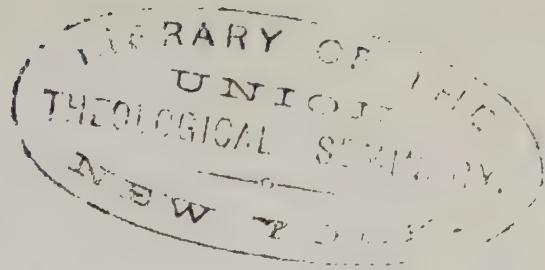
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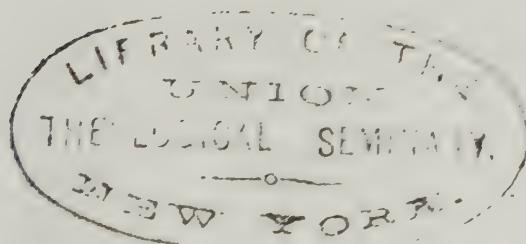
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“ Par majestas Personarum,  
Par potestas est earum,  
Et communis Deitas ;  
Tu procedens a duobus,  
Coæqualis es ambobus ;  
In nullo disparitas.

Quia tantus es et talis  
Quantus Pater est et qualis,  
Servorum humilitas  
Deo Patri, Filioque  
Redemptori. Tibi quoque  
Laudes reddat debitas.

—ADAM OF S. VICTOR.

## THE NICENE CREED AND THE FILIOQUE.

### I.

#### THE HISTORICAL ARGUMENT.

If one desired a notable illustration of the influence and power of a name, it is to be found in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. It is known to all who have taken the trouble to investigate the matter, that the Creeds commonly known as the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds are not—if we are to have regard to the letter but not to the spirit—what they are by very many believed to be. The Apostles' Creed, in substance indeed, can be traced back to the times of the Apostles; in form and arrangement, however, as now commonly received among us, it does not date further back than the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> Something of the

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<sup>1</sup> Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 125–7: “There can be no doubt that the Creed grew, in the first instance, out of the baptismal formula, having been suggested by the interrogatories which were put to the catechumen touching his

same kind is true of the Creed of Nicæa. The Creed which now passes current under the name of the first great Ecumenical Council (325), belongs in reality to the Council of Constantinople (381). The Constantinopolitan Creed embodies in its more extended definitions the faith of the earlier Council, but with so many additions and alterations that it must be regarded, as in effect, a new Creed. To some persons these may appear startling announcements, and they will be disposed to say to us, perhaps: "Is it to be believed that the Church, for more than a thousand

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belief in that divine Being—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—in whose name he was about to be baptized. . . . The earliest Western Creed which has come down to us which may certainly be regarded as complete in itself, and not merely fragmentary, is that of Marcellus of Ancyra. . . . And this, on the whole, exhibits the type which prevailed in the West from the middle of the fourth century to the close of the sixth. . . . Though, however, as a general rule, the Creed had not by the close of the sixth century advanced in point of completeness beyond the type exhibited in the formula of Marcellus, still there is not one of the clauses which have since been added to Marcellus' Creed which had not appeared before that date. But all had not appeared in one and the same Creed, nor does any one of them as yet seem to have become established. In the course of the seventh century the Creed seems to have been approaching more and more generally to conformity to the formula now in use. By the close of the eighth century the formula now in use may be considered established."

years last past, has been imposing upon the credulity of her children, by passing off upon them, under other names, Creeds and Confessions of Faith which are not in very truth what they profess to be?" God forbid! The Apostles' Creed represents with all faithfulness the substance of the faith as held in the Apostolic Age. It is found upon examination, however, that the faith as taught by the Apostles and their successors remained in solution, as it were, until the eighth century, when it may be said to have crystallized and assumed its present form. The Constantinopolitan Creed, in like manner, is not *another* setting forth of the faith different from that of Nicæa, but an enlargement and adaptation of the Nicene Symbol to meet new forms of error which had meantime arisen.

We confess to an object in putting things in this bald, and, as it may appear to many, startling way. It is our aim to force an issue with a class of persons who keep asking for "a correct English version of the Nicene Creed." What is it that these persons really want? Do they know what they want? Do they propose to substitute for the present Constantinopolitan Creed the Nicene Symbol according to its original and only proper form, anathemas and all, omitting the Articles of "the Holy Catholic and Apostolic

Church," the "one Baptism for the remission of sins," the "Resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come?" Is there any one who seriously proposes to do this? And if not, on what ground is it that these persons object to the addition of an Article, such as the *Filioque*, by the Western Church, when we find it to be the case that the Eastern Church itself has made additions to the original Nicene formula; and that, too, while affirming that in so doing no departure from the Nicene faith was intended or permitted? So far as we know, only two answers have been given or attempted to this question. The first is the answer urged by Greek controversialists and fautors of heresy like Eutyches, and presented from time to time by Eastern sympathizers among ourselves. It is said that the Council of Ephesus<sup>3</sup> passed a decree (re-affirmed by the Council of Chalcedon) that "no person should be allowed to present or write or compose a Creed different from that which was definitely framed by the holy fathers of Nicæa, with the aid of the Holy Spirit." Admitting the interpretation given to

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<sup>3</sup> Concil. Ephes. Can. 7: Τούτων τοίνυν ἀναγνωσθέντων δριστεῖς ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἐτέραν πίστιν μηδεὶς ἔχειναι, προφέρειν ἄγονον συγγράφειν ή συντιθέναι, παρὰ τὴν δρισθένταν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Παπέρων τῶν δὲ τῆς Νικατῶν συναχθέντων πόλει, σὺν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι.

this decree by our objectors to be the right one, for the sake of argument, we submit that it proves too much; and, if carried into effect, would involve changes greater than these objectors are, if we mistake not, prepared for. It is of the original "Nicene Creed," it will be observed, then, and not of the Creed which now passes under that name (the Constantinopolitan), the decree speaks. The Council of Ephesus never gave its sanction to the additions made by the one hundred and fifty Bishops of Constantinople. If the decree, then, be of any binding force of the kind indicated, we must surrender our present Nicene (Constantinopolitan) Creed and substitute for it the very Creed passed by the Council of Nicæa. It is only necessary to state the proposition to see how utterly vain and nugatory it is. But we object to the interpretation of the decree now given. It is a well-known principle of legal interpretation that you must take the preamble with the main body of a document to determine the real meaning. Apply this principle to the decree of Ephesus, and what is the result? The preamble shows that Charisius laid certain writings before the Council which contained, among other things, a Creed, framed by one James of Constantinople, Nestorian in its tendency; whereupon, "after hearing these things read, the Holy Synod de-

terminated that no *person* should be allowed to bring forward or to compose any other Creed besides that which was settled by the holy Fathers who were assembled in the city of Nicæa." The decree, then, has reference to the setting forth of Creeds by *persons* upon their own individual authority, and not to the expansion or enlarging of existing Creeds by Councils or by proper authority. No person, be he Bishop, Priest, or Monk, may take upon himself to compose a Creed and impose it as matter of obligation upon others. The acts of the Council of Chalcedon put this interpretation of the decree beyond all question. For it will be remembered that the Council of Chalcedon, while reaffirming the decree of Ephesus in addition to the original Nicene Creed, confirmed the Creed of Constantinople with all its additions, which it could not have done if it had regarded the decree of Ephesus as forbidding additions made by Councils to existing Creeds. And not only so, but over and above the two Creeds, the Council affirmed the "Synodical Epistles of the blessed Cyril of Alexandria" and the tome "of the most blessed and holy Archbishop Leo" to be authoritative expositions of the faith. Here, then, we have the objectors to any additions to the Nicene faith on the horns of a dilemma. If they insist upon

*their* interpretation of the decree of Ephesus, they are bound to receive the original Creed of Nicæa without the additions of the Creed of Constantinople; if they receive the interpretation which the acts of the Council of Chalcedon put upon the decree, they are bound to receive the additions made by the Council of Constantinople, and in so doing admit that an Ecumenical symbol may receive additions at the hands of a Council whose Ecumenicity was not acknowledged until seventy-one years after the additions were made. Dr. Pusey ("Letter to Dr. Liddon," p. 83) takes the same view, and quotes the act (5) of the Council of Chalcedon at some length. "The Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon," he says, "by their practice are authoritative exponents of the Council of Ephesus, for they renewed the prohibition of the Council of Ephesus to 'adduce any other faith ;' but in the faith which is not to be set aside they included not only the Creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople, but the definitions of Ephesus and Chalcedon itself. The statements of the faith were expanded because fresh contradictions of the faith had emerged. After directing that both Creeds should be read, the Council says :

"This wise and saving Symbol of the Divine grace would have sufficed to the full knowledge and confirmation of the faith, for it teaches thoroughly the perfect truth of the

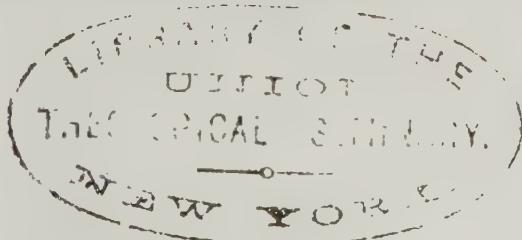
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and presents to those who receive it faithfully the Incarnation of the Lord. But since they who take in hand to annul the preaching of the truth, have, through their own heresies, generated empty sayings (they describe Nestorianism, Eutychianism), therefore this present great, holy, and Ecumenical Council, wishing to shut out every device against the truth, teaching thoroughly the unshaken truth proclaimed from the beginning, has defined pre-eminently that the faith of the three hundred and eighteen fathers should remain unassailed, and on account of those who fought against the Holy Ghost, confirming the teaching concerning the substance of the Holy Ghost, delivered subsequently by the one hundred and fifty holy fathers who met in the royal city, which they made known to all, not as introducing anything wanting in those before them, but making clear by testimonies of Scripture this conception of the Holy Spirit against those who wished to annul His being Lord; and moreover, on account of those who took in hand to corrupt the mystery of the Dispensation, and who shamelessly fabled that He who was born of the holy Mary was mere man, it received the Synodical Epistles of the blessed Cyril, who was shepherd of the Church of Alexandria, to Nestorius and the Easterns, being adapted to refute the phrenzy of Nestorius, and as an interpretation for those who with pious zeal desire to understand the saving Creed; to which also they reasonably conjoined the Epistle of the President of the greater Rome, the most blessed and holy Archbishop Leo, for the destruction of the evil-mindedness of Eutyches, as agreeing with the Confession of the great Peter, and as a column against both misbelievers in common to the confirmation of the orthodox doctrine.'

"Then having in detail shown how both heresies were confuted, and having set forth the true doctrine, they sum up:

'These things being framed by us with all accuracy and care on every side, the holy and Ecumenical Synod defines that it shall be lawful for no one to produce, or compose, or put together, or hold, or teach others another faith, and those who venture,' etc. (as in the Council of Ephesus).

"The Council of Chalcedon enlarged greatly the terms, although not the substance of the faith contained in the Nicene Creed; and *that* in view of the heresies which had since arisen; and rehearsed in terms the prohibition of the Canon of Ephesus and the penalties annexed to its infringement. It showed, then, in practice, that it did not hold the enlargement of the things proposed as *de fide* to be prohibited, but only the producing things contradictory to the faith once delivered to the saints."

It is argued, moreover, that an article of faith can only be inserted in an Ecumenical Symbol by an Ecumenical Council, and that no one portion of the Church has the right to add any Article to the Creed without the consent of the Church Universal. As a general principle, this is undoubtedly true. But it has, as will be found upon examination, its exceptions; and among the most notable of the exceptions is the Council of Constantinople itself and the additions made by it. The Council of Constantinople was, so far as local circumstances were concerned, a purely Eastern Council. No Western



Bishop took part in its deliberations. It is, as Bishop Wordsworth says,<sup>\*</sup> an illustration of the principle "that the test of Ecumenicity is not to be decided by the number of Bishops in a Council, nor by the diversity and extent of the countries from which they come," but by the "subsequent reception of their decrees by the *Church Universal*." This is undoubtedly true. But it does not alter the fact that the Greek Church, when it made additions to the Creed, until the time of the Council of Chalcedon (some seventy-one years after), was precisely in the same condition relative to the West that the Western Church in its addition of the *Filioque* stands to the East: it felt itself justified in making additions inasmuch as fresh contradictions to the faith had arisen; and, in so doing, proved that the decree of Ephesus was not intended to restrict the liberty of the Church in dealing with new heresies when they should arise. The Council of Chalcedon, in writing to the Emperor Marcian, took the same view. It insists upon retaining the Nicene Creed intact as the Baptismal Creed, "a common watchword from the Saints," sufficient for those "who are baptized for the security of their adoption as sons." But it argues that

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<sup>\*</sup>Church History, vol. ii., p. 342.

"it is necessary to meet those who essay to pervert right doctrine, as to each of their productions, and to confront their devices in a fitting way. If all were satisfied with the recognized faith and did not innovate in the path of godliness, the Church would have no need to devise anything in addition to the Creed for demonstration. But since many turn from the right way to the way of error, devising for themselves some new path to falsehood, it was necessary that we too should convert them by new statements of truth, and array refutations against their devices; not as if ever discovering some thing lacking to faith for godliness, but as devising what is expedient in regard to their novelties." This, as we shall see, was the very position taken afterward by Paulinus of Aquileia in defence of the insertion of the *Filioque*. To estimate aright the comparative weight of the evidence in the case, it is to be remembered that there is an important difference between the East and the West in their use of the Nicene Creed. In the East the Nicene Creed is the declarative or Baptismal Creed. The Eastern Church, accordingly, has always been jealous of adding to it anything more than is absolutely necessary, as it is "the security" of those who have obtained "the adoption of sons." With us the declarative or Baptismal

Creed is the Apostles' Creed. It is to the Nicene Creed we look for the defence of the faith and its confirmation against rising heresies.

The truth is (with all deference to the rigorists who are clamoring for a revised translation of the Nicene Creed), the principles of historical criticism, so far as Symbolism is concerned, are as yet very little understood among us. The more the matter is examined into, it will be found that the Creeds, instead of being, as by many they are supposed to be, formal definitions of the faith, absolute and fixed, are in reality a growth. The Creed grew, just as the Bible did, out of the experience of the Church. The faith was held implicitly, and perpetuated traditionally, before any Creed was ever written, or its substance articulated and arranged to meet this or that fresh novelty. It was only as necessity demanded that the Church here and there in her declarative or Baptismal Creed required open confession in so many words of the prevailing error. The thing which strikes one in the early Creeds is not their entire uniformity, but the utter lack of it. When the conflict with Paganism was over and the sad strife with heretical pravity commenced, then Creeds became abundant. The fourth century, indeed, might be characterized as the era of Creeds. They are like leaves in Val-

lombrosa. It was their very multiplicity which led to the setting forth of decrees like the decrees of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Nothing (I would again speak with deference) could be more absurd than to imagine that there was only *one* recognized formula of belief at this early time. It was not an unusual thing for a Bishop to put forth a Creed in opposition to the errors of the place and time. Indeed, the Creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople are themselves modifications of existing Creeds set forth by individuals, not absolutely new creations. The Church, when compelled so to do, formulated so far as existing error required her so to do; she did not anticipate the future, much less attempt to put down heresies which as yet had no existence. "Confessi sunt," says S. Jerome, "quod negabatur; tacuerunt de quo nemo querebat." The Church's first great struggle with Arianism we see reflected in the Creed properly called the Nicene Creed. The Council of Constantinople expanded and enlarged the Eighth Article of the Nicene Creed to meet the heresy of Macedonius, as the Nicene Creed had itself expanded the Second Article of the received faith to meet the heresy of Arius. That it was no part of the intention of the fathers assembled at Constantinople to depart from the Creed of Nicæa, or to add,

in the way of discovery, anything to it, they themselves declared in their first Canon; notwithstanding as a matter of fact (and that not by the Act of Council, but by a kind of universal consent) the Creed of Constantinople, with its superadded clauses, supplanted the Creed of Nicæa, and has even so blotted it out of existence as to take its very name.

Now let us turn to the introduction of the *Filioque* into the Western Creed. How did it get there? No one, as far as I know, is able exactly to tell. It will be remembered that the Creed *proper* to the West, as contradistinguished from the East, was the Apostles' Creed. The West was not disturbed, as the East was, by heresy, and did not need such a formal exposition of the faith as the East did. The West, too, freed from the pressure of controversy, was disposed to deal in a freer way with the Creed than the East was. Churches did not hesitate to make additions to the existing Creed where occasion required. We have the Church of Aquileia, for example, adding "invisibilem et impassibilem" to the attribute "omnipotentem" in opposition to Sabellianism, as Rufinus tells us. There was indeed one exception to the general freedom from heretical gravity in the West. In the very year that Macedonianism and Apollinarianism were defeated in

the East, we find the Spanish Bishops struggling against Priscillianism in the Council of Cæsar Augusta (Saragossa), 380-1. Then, the Spanish Peninsula was deluged by a flood of Arian invaders for a century and a half and more. From the beginning of the fifth century to the last quarter of the sixth, Arianism was in the predominance in Spain—"An Arianism which included the errors of Macedonius and Eunomius, and represented the Holy Ghost as the creature of a created Son."<sup>4</sup> It was not until the year 589 that the Catholic faith again got possession of its original heritage. In that year Recarred, the King of the Visigoths, renounced Arianism, and brought the whole nation over with him. In his opening speech Recarred acknowledges the dogmatic decisions of the first four Ecumenical Councils and recites the Creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople and part of the Definition of Chalcedon. The form of the Creed used upon this memorable occasion had two important changes made in it. The *Deum ex Deo* of the original Nicene Creed, omitted in the Creed of Constantinople, was restored, and in the clause "in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et Vivificatorem, ex Patre ET FILIO procedentem," the *et Filio* was added. Where

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<sup>4</sup> Swete: History of the Doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, p. 163.

did it come from? No one knows. One thing is manifest, that neither the King nor the Council, in reciting the Creed with the addition, had the slightest idea that their Latin Creed differed from the Greek original. This is manifest from the fact that Recarred subscribes the Creeds and his own profession in these words: "Ego Recarredus rex fidem hanc Sanctum et veram confessionem quam unam per totum orbem Catholica confitetur Ecclesia . . . Subscripsi." And the Bishops add, "Haec est vera fides quam Omnis Ecclesia Dei per totum mundum tenet." It is manifest that the *et Filio* had become part and parcel of the Catholic faith in Spain, as a protest against Priscillian and Arian errors, and was recited in the Creed accordingly, for Recarred adds to the general confession of the faith a particular confession in which the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son holds a prominent place. His words are: "Spiritus aequus Sanctus confitendus a nobis et praedicandus est a Patre *et a Filio* procedere et cum Patre *et Filio* unius esse substantiae." No impartial person can examine the proceedings of this National Council, which restored a whole kingdom to the faith, without being convinced that the Western Bishops at Toledo were just as innocent of any thought of making additions to the faith as the Eastern

Bishops were at Constantinople when they expanded the Original Creed to meet heresies which had lately arisen.\* This is proved by the fact that the Spanish Bishops quote the very words of the Council of Chalcedon in justification of what they have done. “The holy and universal Synod forbids to bring forward any other faith; or to write, or believe, or to teach other, or to be otherwise minded. But whoso shall dare either to expound or produce or to deliver any other Creed to those who wish to be converted to the knowl-

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\* The First Council of Toledo, A.D. 397 (before the Gothic monarchy), set forth a decree that the Creed of the Council of Nice should be perpetually preserved and kept: proving that at this time no necessity had arisen for expansion: “Si quis . . . Concilii Nicæni aliud quam statutum est facere præsumpsit, et non in eo perserverandum putaverit, tunc excommunicatus habeatur.”

[The Third Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, decreed that the Symbol of Faith of the Council of Constantinople, as recited in all the Orient, should be kept unaltered and said by all the people before every sacrifice of the Altar in all Spain. Now it is manifest that the Council, in adding as it did the *Filioque*, did not consider that in so doing it was departing from the faith of the “Orient,” or altering the Constantinopolitan Symbol in any way, and yet it anathematizes any one who shall not receive the addition: “Quicunque Spiritum Sanctum non credit, aut non crederit a PATRE ET FILIO procedere eumque non dixerit coaeternum esse Patre et Filio et coaequalem anathema sit.”]

The Sixth Council of Toledo, A.D. 638, recited the Con-

edge of the truth from the heathen, or Jews, or any heretics whatsoever, if they be Bishops or Clerks, should be alien from the Episcopate or Clergy ; if Monks or Laymen, should be subject to anathema." It is to this same Council that we owe the introduction of a practice which, up to this time, had not been generally known in the Church, the singing of the Creed in the Liturgy. "For reverence," it is said, "of the most holy faith, and for strengthening the weak minds of

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stantinopolitan Creed with several additional clauses, among others " Spiritum vero sanctum neque genitum, neque creatum, sed de Patre Filioque procedentem utriusque esse Spiritum ; ac per hoc substantialiter unum sint quia et unus ab utroque procedit." As the Third Council affirmed that the Constantinopolitan Creed, as recited in all the Orient, is the faith of the Spanish Church, so the Sixth affirms that the Creed as set forth with the added clause is the Creed of all General Councils and of the whole Catholic Church, and it is to be kept unaltered in all Spain. Had the additions been regarded as an alteration or changing of the Creed, such a declaration as that made by the Council never could have been put forth.

We have the same Creed recited by the Eighth Council of Toledo, A.D. 653 ; mentioned by the Eleventh Council, A.D. 675 ; recited by the Twelfth Council, A.D. 681 ; it is called the Creed of Nicaea by the Thirteenth Council, A.D. 683, and is recited accordingly ; it is affirmed by the Fifteenth Council, A.D. 688, to be the Creed of all General Councils ; it is recited under the same name by the Sixteenth Council, A.D. 698 ; it is called "the rule of the holy faith" by the Seventeenth Council, A.D. 694, and is recited accordingly.

men, the holy Synod enacts, with advice of our most pious and most glorious lord, King Recared, that through all the churches of Spain and Gallæcia the Symbol of faith of the Council of Constantinople, *i.e.*, of the one hundred and fifty Bishops, should be recited according to the form of the Eastern Church ; so that, before the Lord's Prayer be said, it is to be sung with clear voice by the people ; to the intent that the true faith should have a manifest testimony, and the hearts of the people approach, purified by faith, to taste the Body and Blood of Christ."

It will be observed, then, that the third Council of Toledo holds precisely the same relation to Western Symbolism which the Council of Constantinople does to Eastern. The Creed of the West in Africa, in Rome, in Gaul up to the Council of Toledo, was the Apostles' Creed. The Nicene Creed, properly so called, was recognized as an Ecumenical Symbol, but never was in common use. The West, with its more practical turn of mind, was satisfied with the simple statements of fact contained in the Apostles' Creed. Innovation began with the introduction of the Creed of Constantinople into the Liturgy, and the Creed thus introduced was not the Constantinopolitan pure and simple, but amended by going back in one Article to the original Nicene Creed, and by

enlarging another Article to meet the peculiar heretical outgrowth of the Visigothic invasion. If the Greek Council of Constantinople was justified in adding to the original Creed of Nicæa to meet new errors, what forbade the Latin Council of Toledo to do for the West what Constantinople had done for the East? It is manifest that the Spanish Church in so doing felt it had the right so to do; it is also manifest that the Western Church, while holding on to its own original Creed for the most part, raised no objection to the action taken. Even the Roman See, which held on tenaciously to its own simple form of the Apostles' Creed, never disputed the right of the Spanish Church so to take care of its own interests. The acquiescence of the West in the action of the Council, and the universal acceptance of the amended Constantinopolitan Symbol, has an exact parallel in the acquiescence of the East in the amendments of the Council of Constantinople, the universal acceptance of its Symbol by a kind of common consent, up to the time of the Council of Chalcedon. It will be seen upon examination, then, that the agitators who for their own interested ends find it to their advantage upon the platform to cry up Apostolic simplicity and exalt the Apostles' Creed above the Nicene Symbol, have quite as much in their favor as the

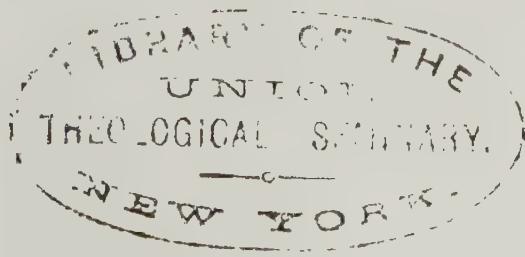
men who want to see restored, pure and simple, the Creed of Nicæa. If we are to forswear everything like progress and advancement in the knowledge of the truth, let us go back to the time when the Apostles' Creed, the cherished Symbol of the West, was the universal standard of faith, and that, too, in its simplest traditional form, the Creed of the Roman See. But the truth is (I would speak again with due respect), what such pleaders are in pursuit of, is not the Catholic faith, but liberty to teach what self-interest dictates, and the perpetuation of the strife which has brought such woe on Christendom. It was not the introduction of the *Filioque* into the Creed which separated East and West, but worldly pride and conflict of race, and the wickedness which turns ritualistic trifles into weapons of warfare and deadly strife. And this we shall now proceed to prove.

It is Mr. Foulkes, I think, who has called attention to the fact that until the time of the separation of East and West politically, the religious question did not assume any very serious shape, and then it was a ritualistic outbreak which proved to be the spark that led to the explosion. Latin monks at Jerusalem got into a row with some Greek monks of the monastery of S. Saba on account of their singing the Creed with the

addition of the *Filioque* clause. Appeal was made to Charlemagne as "Protector of the Holy Land." The matter was then referred to Leo III., who for the sake of peace, professedly, but in reality because the Roman See had no love for the Council of Constantinople, or any of its doings, advised the emperor to stop the singing of the Creed and leave off the cause of offence. Charlemagne persisted, and the Emperor Henry II., two hundred years after the death of Charlemagne (1014), prevailed on Benedict VIII. to adopt the German use of singing the Creed in the Holy Mysteries. Meanwhile Latins and Greeks came into collision in the border lands of Bulgaria; and Photius, who had obtained the patriarchal throne of Constantinople by political influence and fraud, made the question of the double procession an excuse for breaking with the West and the Roman See. It will not, I think, be questioned by any fair-minded person that, throughout the whole of this painful controversy, the Roman See did nothing to precipitate the issue; on the contrary, it labored for peace. It was willing to make every reasonable concession. It was not, indeed, a question in which the Roman See had any personal interest, so to speak. The practice of singing the Nicene Creed had become universal throughout Spain and France and Ger-

many, but it had not reached Rome. It had been inaugurated with a view of popularizing the dogma of the *Filioque*, and it had succeeded admirably. The popular tide, as usual, prevailed, and even the Roman See was at last compelled to yield. The West offered to make any and every concession to the Greeks so far as the doctrinal question was concerned, but declared itself unable to change a received Use which had become so popular, and over which it had ceased to have any control. It was during the progress of these controversies that Paulinus of Aquileia, at the Council of Friuli (796), made the declaration to which reference has already been made above. [In opposition to the Greek objection, that no addition is to be made to an ancient and Ecumenical Symbol, Paulinus took the ground "that the examination and completion of an original document, in accordance with the needs of a particular age, and with reference to new errors that are arising, is allowable."\* He argued, moreover, that the supplementing of the Creed by the Council of To-

\* Hooker (*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. 5, ch. 42) takes substantially the same ground: "Under Constantine the emperor . . . Arius . . . became, through envy and stomach, prone unto contradiction, and bold to broach at the length that heresy, wherein the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ contained but not opened in the former Creed, the coequality and coeternity of the Son with the Father, was denied."



ledo was "as justifiable as the addition made to the Nicene Symbol by the Council of Constantinople." Paulinus might well take this ground, for Aquileia had already added to the Apostles' Creed the words "invisibilem et impassibilem," as an expansion of "omnipotentem" in opposition to the Patripassian heresy. The addition, as Rufinus tells us, was never recognized in the Roman Creed. It may be added that the assertion sometimes made that the insertion of the *Filioque* into the Western Creed was an arbitrary act of the German emperor, has arisen out of a misconception of the earlier relations between Church and State in Germany as well as in England. It was the custom in the early Frankish Councils, as in the Saxon Witenagemote in England, for the emperor to gather around him his counsellors, both in Church and State, in what Milman happily calls a "diet Council," and there all matters pertaining to both estates were discussed and settled, and the ecclesiastical canons, as well as civil enactments, were sent forth under the sign-manual of the emperor. The time had not yet come for the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical powers. The emperor, like Melchisedec in the biblical story, or Virgil's "Anius," was both priest

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<sup>7</sup> "Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique Sacerdos."—*Virg., Æn.*, 3, 80.

and king; in other words, the differentiation of the powers on which society depends had not yet taken place. As Bishops were associated with the throne and took part in the affairs of State, so Kings were recognized as the guardians of the Church, and her decrees were sent forth under the sanction of Kings' or Emperors' names.

## II.

## THE DOCTRINAL ISSUE.

It is one thing to hold the faith implicitly ; it is a very different thing to state it explicitly. The history of the doctrine of the Trinity furnishes us with a notable illustration of this truth. The first Christians, it must be kept in mind, were Jews. The fundamental article of their faith was, that the Lord is one God. How are they to believe in the unity of the Godhead, and at the same time worship Christ as God ? It was at this point the attempt to formulate the doctrine of the Trinity first began. It soon became manifest that God, in the mystery of His Being, is not, as the Neo-Platonists taught, an abstraction, much less a negation ; nor, as the Patripassians and Sabellians held, a monad ; but a Being, the mystery of Whose indwelling involves relations of an eternal and personal nature. If God be indeed a Father, the very notion of Fatherhood has for its correlative the notion of a Son ; and if the Father be indeed eternal, the Son must likewise be eternal. When we speak of the generation of the Son, we make mention of an eternal act. The relation of Father and of Son is not something

which is ever to be thought of as having a beginning; nor is it ever to be thought of as having an end. It is the mode of the Divine existence, which is as true to-day as it was a thousand years ago; and which, as it ever has been, will ever continue so to be. It is to Origen we owe the formulating of the doctrine of the eternal generation. And yet even Origen fails to state it in a perfectly unexceptionable way. He was restrained by the received principle of the monarchy, and makes the act of generation to take place through the Will of the Father, and not to take effect as the mode of the Divine existence. It is of the very nature of God to exist as Father and Son, so that the Son is very God even as the Father is very God. The early Fathers, like Origen, oftentimes use language regarding the mystery of the Godhead which is very defective, if not sometimes of a positively heretical character. We are not, on this account, to impute heresy to them; nor may we judge them by the later standard of the Nicene age. They held the faith implicitly, but were not yet able to state it explicitly. Nor will it cause surprise to any one that the Church, while engaged in battling with Patripassianism and Arianism, and wholly intent on finding a formula to express the proper Divinity of the Eternal Son, did not find time to

define accurately the nature and relations of the third Person of the everlasting Godhead. There is but a single clause in the Nicene Creed (properly so-called) respecting the third Person of the Trinity. After the brief statement, "And we believe in the Holy Spirit," the Nicene Fathers (so little was the Church occupied at that time with the mystery of the third hypostasis) recur again immediately to the leading subject, and affirm "that those who say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that before He was begotten He was not in being, or that He is of another substance or essence (than that of the Father), or that He was created, or mutable, or changeable—all such the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes." The Nicene Creed, it will be observed, does not even state the doctrine of the *procession*; all it does is to repeat the declaration of the baptismal formula. It is not affirming too much then to say with Bishop Bull, that "none of the Fathers of the first three centuries have attempted to explain distinctly the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son." The Nicene Creed itself, as we have seen, does not declare it. We are not to conclude from this that the Church did not hold the doctrine. She did not feel any necessity to formulate it, as Bishop Bull observes, "till Mace-

donius appeared and disputed the faith of the Church on that Article." Macedonius was a semi-Arian, and as Sozomen tells us, taught that the Son is God—in every respect and according to essence *like* the Father, and that the Holy Spirit is not a sharer in these prerogatives, but a minister and servant. It was the heretical pravity of Macedonius and others like him, which led the Council of Constantinople (381), under the guidance of Gregory Nazianzen, to add to the Nicene Creed the formula, "And we believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Life-giving, who proceeds from the Father, Who is to be worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son, and Who spake by the Prophets." It will not surely be affirmed by any, that the Constantinopolitan Fathers, in affixing these Articles in condemnation of Macedonius, did not make a very important addition to the original Creed of Nicæa; nor can it with truth be said, that in making the additions they did anything more than expand, with reference to existing heresies, what was already contained in the Nicene Creed, albeit not explicitly asserted. Much less, can it for a moment be maintained, as the later Greeks in opposition to the Western Church do maintain, that the Constantinopolitan Fathers, in declaring that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the

Father, affirm, or intended to affirm, that He proceeds from the Father *only*, or from the Father *as the original source of Being*.<sup>8</sup> It is one thing to proceed from the Father, another to proceed from the Father *only*, just as the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith *only*, or the ultra-Protestant theory of the Bible and the Bible *only*, are very different from the received doctrine of the Church regarding Justification and the place of Holy Scriptures in the Economy of Grace. To add to the definition of Constantinople, as the later Greeks do, the word *only*, or the phrase, *as the original source of Being*, is in fact just as much an addition, and, in some respects, even more so than to insert the much disputed *Filioque*. In estimating the addition made by the Council of Constantinople, we must keep in mind, if we would determine accurately its true theological value, that the Constantinopolitan Fathers, in common with the whole Nicene Age, viewed the mystery of the Trinity from the monotheistic side of the principle of the Monarchy. They felt bound to maintain that God the Father is the

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<sup>8</sup> The Greek Church now teaches dogmatically that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only. Its formula is: διδάσκει [ἐκκλησία] πῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἐκπορέυεται ἀκ- μόνον τοῦ πατρός, ὡς πηγῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς θεότητος. Winer, Confessions of Christendom, p. 67, Eng. Trans.

sole "fountain" and "principle" of the Godhead. They would guard us against thinking that the Divine Nature and perfections belong to the Father and to the Son co-ordinately, or collaterally, but subordinately. The Son, indeed, has the same Divine Nature as the Father has, but communicated and begotten of the Father; as it is of the Nature of the Father to be unoriginate and begotten of none, so it is of the Nature of the Son to be originate and begotten of the Father. It is to be maintained, in other words, that the *order* of the Divine existence is of importance, when we represent to ourselves the mystery of the Eternal Godhead. We must think of the Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity in the order in which they stand related to each other; we cannot alter the order without confounding the mystery. The Nicene Age, dealing as it did with Polytheism, affirms accordingly that God the Father is greater than God the Son, even in regard to Divinity; greater, not in respect of nature, nor of any essential perfection, but greater in respect of origin, since Fatherhood is primal, and Sonship secondary, *ex vi terminorum*.

[But while the Nicene Age guarded effectually the idea of the Monarchy against Polytheism of every kind, it failed—not from any fault of its own indeed, but simply for the reason that the

time for explicit statement had not yet come—to discriminate with exactness, and to define precisely, the relation which the third Person in the Trinity bears to the Second as well as to the First. If we are bound to maintain the order of the Persons each to the other, then we are also bound to maintain that there is a subordination of the Third to the Second, as well as a subordination of the Second to the First. Dr. Pusey accordingly, in his letter to Dr. Liddon,<sup>9</sup> does not hesitate to say that “Those who deny the eternal procession of God the Holy Ghost ‘from the Father *and* the Son, or from the Father *through* the Son,’ do, in fact, deny any order in the existence of God, or relation of all the Divine Persons to each other. They acknowledge a relation of God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost to God the Father, but deny their relation to each other. The Father is, in these representations, the one source of Being, but dividing (so to speak) into two streams of Being, which have no relation to each other except the oneness of their source.” It is on this ground that Dr. Shedd<sup>10</sup> remarks “the Constantinopolitan Creed was not satisfactory to all parties. The position of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity generally had indeed been

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<sup>9</sup> On the clause “And the Son,” p. 108.

<sup>10</sup> History of Christian Doctrine, vol. i., p. 370.

established by it. He was acknowledged to be One of the Eternal Three, co-equal in power and glory ; but His special relation to the Father and the Son was left indefinite."

But this indefiniteness was not destined to remain. Here again error was to bring to light the hidden mystery of the Truth. Theodore of Mopsuestia, with a view to undermine the distinctively sacramental element in Christianity, undertook positively to deny that the Holy Ghost is *of* the Son, and is His *very* Own, even as He is of the Father. It will be seen, at a glance, that if the Holy Ghost is not *of* the Son, and is not His *very* Own, then the Son is not present in His Own essential Nature in the Church and the Sacraments, but operates through another as an agent or instrument, and accordingly cannot be said to bestow Himself in His Own Divine-human Nature that we may be incorporated into Him.<sup>11</sup> If the Holy Ghost be not proper to the Godhead of the Son, as He is to the Godhead of the Father, then the Divine Humanity is not the proper source of eternal life to the sons of men, and the

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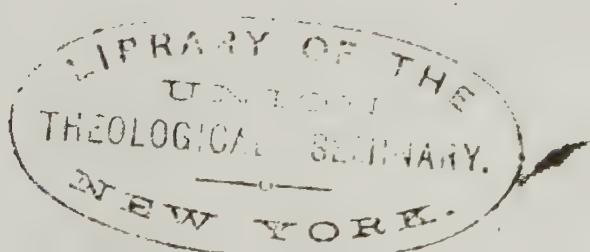
<sup>11</sup> On the point here noted the translator of Winer's Confessions of Christendom in his Introduction (xlviii.) observes, "The place assigned to the Third Person in the economical Trinity in the several Confessions, defines their character with almost as much precision as that of Christ's Person. Here would recur of course the question of the *Fili-*

Incarnation ceases to be an eternal fact. Nestorius joined hands with Theodore of Mopsuestia in denying that the Holy Spirit was consubstan-

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*ogue*, which divides the East from the West, and has already been viewed under the doctrine of the immanent Trinity. But now it would introduce the bearing of the double procession upon the theology of Redemption. For if Father and Son are names belonging to the God of the mediatorial Economy, and the Holy Ghost proceeds from both, then we gain an important basis for a double doctrine of the Spirit's relation to the Mediator. In the one He is sent from the Father through the Son's intercession to discharge a distinct function; to be the administrator of redemption generally; to fill up as it were the measure of Christ's work, and act upon earth in the place of Him whom the heavens have received. In the other He is the Spirit proceeding from Christ Himself, Whose presence is the presence of our very Lord. 'The Lord is that Spirit,' Whose indwelling fulfils all that the Scripture says in its profoundest passages concerning the mystical union of Christ's presence with believers. The former, unqualified by the latter, lays the foundation of a superstructure in which the Saviour and the Holy Ghost are often too much separated; the actual miraculous presence of Christ being the result of a perpetual miracle, the continuation of His work in the Church; and the office of the Church being limited to the particular functions of enlightenment and sanctification. The latter view allows of no Christ in the mediatorial Economy Who is to be regarded apart from the Spirit, Who proceedeth from the Son as well as from the Father, and is therefore what the Lord has termed Him, His other Self within the Christian Church." This as will be seen from the quotation given below (n. 13) is exactly the ground taken by S. Cyril.

tial with the "form of a servant." Nestorianism again, in its denial of the hypostatic union, and of the consubstantiality of the Second and the Third Persons of the Godhead, strikes at the root of Sacramental Christianity. For, if the Holy Ghost be not of the very Nature of the Son, even as He is of the Father, then the Sacraments are not "extensions of the Incarnation" by means of which Christ communicates Himself, Body, Soul, and Divinity to us, but, as Calvin teaches, energizing powers of which the Holy Spirit is Himself the Source, the Incarnation being no longer operative as a living agent. This attack upon the proper Godhead of the Eternal Son, and the proper bestowal of Himself as God Incarnate, through the agency of His Own very Spirit, and not the Spirit of another, called forth full and clear declarations on the disputed points both East and West. John Cassian in the West replied in his treatise on the Incarnation. S. Cyril in the East attacked the new doctrine both right and left. Up to his time, the Greek Fathers, out of fear of infringing upon the traditional notion of the monarchy, had been very guarded in their language, and left the question of the derivation from the Son an open one; but now S. Cyril does not hesitate, in opposition to



Theodore of Mopsuestia and his disciple, to declare that the Holy Ghost holds the same *essential* relation to the Divinity of the Son, which He does to the Divinity of the Father, and proceeds, not simply from (*παρά*) the Son, but out (*ἐκ*) of Him by way of derivation, as He does from the Father. S. Cyril affirms, as none of the Greek Fathers do with the exception of Epiphanius, that the Holy Ghost proceeds *both* from the Father and the Son. Now the question arises why this difference between S. Cyril and the earlier Greek Fathers? It is so marked as to be even startling, in the sanction it gives to what is regarded by many as the Western view of the Procession. The difference is only to be accounted for by the fact, that a new and most dangerous heresiarch had arisen in the person of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, with his disciple Nestorius, had vented a new blasphemy, and whose rationalistic teaching must be met by defining more exactly the relation of the Holy Ghost to the Son as well as to the Father. In so doing, S. Cyril proclaimed no new truth. He said in effect no more than Athanasius<sup>12</sup> had ad-

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<sup>12</sup> Ep. i. ad Serap. "It is shown harmoniously from the Holy Scriptures that the Holy Spirit is not a creature but is the *very Own* (*τὸν οὐν*) of the Word and of the Godhead of the Father. For this is the teaching of the Saints gathered into one as

vanced long before when he argued that the Son must be of one substance with the Father, for equally with the Father He possesses the Spirit as His very Own. The same Person being God and Man, he affirmed, both gave and received the Spirit. All that S. Cyril did, was to make application of the principle which Athanasius had already enunciated, and expand it with reference to a new form of heresy.<sup>13</sup> It is true that the Eastern Church did not make any new addition to the Ecumenical Symbol; it preferred to set forth the teaching of S. Cyril and of S. Leo as *credenda* in the form of Synodical decrees.

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to the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, and this is the one faith of the Catholic Church."

<sup>13</sup> S. Cyril on S. John, L.x. "For since He is the Spirit of Christ and His mind, as it is written, which is naught else but what He is, in regard to identity of nature, even though He be both conceived of and is individually existent, He knows all that is in Him. And Paul will be our witness, saying, *For who knoweth the things of man save man's spirit that is in him? thus the things of God too none knoweth save the Spirit of God.* Wherefore as knowing what is in the counsel of the Only-begotten, He reporteth all things to us, not having the knowledge thereof from learning, that is ; that He may not seem to fill the rank of a minister and to transmit the words of another, but as His Spirit and knowing untaught all that belongeth to Him of whom and in whom He is, He revealeth to the Saints the Divine mysteries ; just as man's mind too knowing all things that are therein, ministereth externally by

There were reasons for not making further additions to the traditional Symbol in the East, which did not hold in the West. The greatest objection to Arianism was its "dated" Creeds. Every new Council set forth a new Creed. There were as many Creeds in existence as there were inventors of heresy. The Catholics used it as an argument against these heretical teachers that they never continued in one stay; they had not the same faith from one day to another. The Eastern Church accordingly preferred to meet new attacks upon the faith by *credenda* in the form of decrees, and not by altering the Creed. It came to pass in this way that the Creed was practically closed in the East.

Things in the West were different. The West had not been deluged by Creeds as the East had been. The West was content, generally speaking, with the simple formula received by tradition from the Apostles. There was not the same jealousy in the West, as there had been in the East, about the danger of imperilling the authority of an Ecumenical Council by attaching to it the stigma of the "dated" Creeds. It was with

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uttered word the desires of the soul whose mind it is, seen and named in idea something different from it (the soul); not other by nature, but as a part complemental of the whole, existing in it and believed to be born from it."

perfect naturalness then, as at an earlier time in the East in the additions made by the Council of Constantinople, that the West allowed the clause of the *Filioque* to be inserted in the Creed. It was acting upon an admitted custom in so doing; it was violating no principle, so long as it merely expanded the faith and did not seek to add to it. The East had fought out the battle in defence of the Divinity of the Son. Its Monarchian spirit had helped it in maintaining the fight. But with that fatal Nemesis, by which our vices are for the most part exaggerations of our virtues, its Monarchianism unfitted the East for dealing with the relation of the Spirit to the Son, as it had done with the relation of the Son to the Father. The West had been Providentially led to view the mystery from a different point of view. It took up the controversy at the point where the East had been compelled, through force of circumstances, to break it off. When S. Hilary of Poitiers, was driven into exile in Phrygia, he found there that a denial of the proper Deity of the Son was fast leading to a rejection of everything like the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, on the part of the various schools of Arian disbelief. Arianism indeed held this implicitly from the very beginning, but it took time to let things work out to their logical results. Hilary was not able

to remain silent, and in proof of the proper Deity of the Third hypostasis, affirms that both the Father and the Son are *auctores*<sup>14</sup> of the Eternal Spirit, the Father ultimately, the Son as holding a middle place in the eternal course of the Divine life. “Patre et Filio auctoribus confitendus est.” It is language which no Eastern, out of regard to the principle of the Monarchy, would have dared to use. S. Ambrose<sup>15</sup> followed in the footsteps of Hilary. But it is to S. Augustine that the West owes the formulating of the doctrine which the Anglican Church from its first Synod under Theodore of Canterbury has, without any deviation confessed, and which she has incorporated into her devotional life. “Distinguishing,” says Mr. Swete, “between *mission* and *procession* he, (Augustine) asserts a true procession of the Spirit from the Son: ‘Nec possumus dicere quod Spiritus Sanctus et a Filio non procedat. . . . Fl-

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<sup>14</sup> S. Hilarius, *De Trinitate*, lib. ii., c. iv. Temerarii dissolvant perfecti hujus Sacramenti veritatem, dum substantias diversitatum in rebus tam communibus moliuntur: Patrem negando, dum Filio quod est Filius admittunt: Spiritum Sanctum negando dum et usum et auctorem Ejus ignorant. [Note.—“Corb. et recentiores cum vulgatio hic, pro negando, exhibent *nesciendo*. Non obscurum est Filium Spiritus Sancti auctorem hic vocari, eosque Spiritus Sancti, id est consortium ignorare, qui Filium ignorant, a quo ille est a nobis datur.”]

<sup>15</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. xi., c. xi.

tus, ille Corporeus [S. John, xx., 22] . . . fuit . . . demonstratio per congruam significationem non tantum a Patre sed et Filio procedere Spiritum Sanctum. Fatendum est Patrem et Filium principium esse Spiritus Sancti; non duo principia; sed sicut Pater et Filius unus Deus. . . . relative ad Spiritum Sanctum unum principium."<sup>16</sup> In these few words we at length have the statement to which Western, and to a great extent Eastern thought had been tending for two centuries. Tertullian's *a Patre per Filium*, Hilary's *Patre et Filio auctoribus*, the *παρ ἀμφοτέρων* of S. Epiphanius, the *διὰ τοῦ μέσου* of S. Gregory of Nyssa, find at last their logical outcome and expression in the Pater et Filius, Unum principium, of the greater Bishop of Hippo."

We have now reached a stage of the controversy, East and West, when it becomes manifest that the *double procession* is not a dispute about mere words, but is to be regarded as of immense importance, practically as well as theologically. Why did Theodore of Mopsuestia set himself so resolutely to deny the derivation of the Holy Ghost from the Son? Why did Nestorius follow in his train? Both wanted to do away with the fundamental distinction between Sacramental

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<sup>16</sup> S. Augustinus, De Trinitate, lib. v., c. xiv. (15).

Christianity as such, and a rational Christianity based upon pure Naturalism. Theodore wanted to elevate the ethical element in Christianity at the expense of the Supernatural. Nestorius, by denying the hypostatical union of the Divine and human natures in the one Person, destroyed the mystical element in the life of the God-Man. If the acts of the man Christ Jesus be not properly Divine, they are not *creative* acts. It is the Supernatural element in the Incarnation which makes the new birth a new creation ; it is the same Supernatural element which gives to the Body and Blood of Christ their restorative virtue for the bodies and souls of men. The Holy Spirit is Lord and Life-giver. But in bestowing the new life, it is not as the Spirit of the Father He recreates the soul dead in trespasses and sins, but as the Spirit of the Son, by taking of the things which are proper to the Divine humanity of the Son, and making them effectual for the renewal and restoration of the believer. It is not of His own that He bestows, but of Christ's; and in bestowing He proceeds not from the Father only, but from the Son also, communicating to us that gift of the new life of which the Son in His Divine humanity (not the Father as Creator and Maker of all things) is the immediate Source. It was for this principle S. Cyril contended in opposition to

Theodore and Nestorius. It was this principle which S. Augustine, as the doctor of Grace in opposition to Pelagius, fought for. Both Cyril and Augustine felt that the denial of the procession from the Son, was to fall back again into the sphere of nature and to imperil the distinction between Nature and Grace. This may not appear at the first glance, but in the end the failure to recognize the double "procession" must result in confounding things which must ever be kept apart, and the mingling of which leads to endless confusion in the minds of many in our own time. It is ever to be kept in mind then, that there is a difference between the function and work of the Holy Ghost, whether we regard Him as the Spirit of the Father or as the Spirit of the Son. It is by failing to recognize this difference that two prominent schools of thought in the Church are continually waging war upon each other, and can never seemingly be reconciled. We hear it asserted upon the one side, that the Divine afflatus is not confined to the Hebrew Prophet; and we see even Christ Himself reckoned in the same category with Plato and Socrates, and Buddha and Zoroaster. To others this seems nothing short of profane; they are disposed to deny that Paganism can, in any sense of the word, be regarded in its religious aspect as proceeding from

God. Now it is not to be denied that the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of the Father animates and quickens all created things, even as at the first He brooded upon the chaos, and fostered into life the germs implanted by the Creative Word. Nature, as the Greeks taught long ago, and as Oersted in our own day declares, is not to be regarded as a mere mathematical puzzle, whose mystery is solved when we talk about laws and forces; it is a *τὸ ζωον*, a living organism, through which God by His Spirit manifests Himself to man as a Vital Principle and All-Sustaining Force. It is the same Spirit which gives to the myriad forms of vegetable life their wonderful variety and beauty, and to animal life its manifold power and strength, binding all orders of terrestrial being together by making them partakers of the one life which quickens and sustains all things. It is the same Spirit which, in every clime, and among all the families of mankind, in Myth and Saga, in the rhythmic utterances of the Sibyl and the rapt strains of the Poet, in the traditional lore which perpetuates from age to age the wisdom of the world's "gray fathers," and the moral teaching of the Philosopher and the Sage, utters His voice and inspires men to declare the deep things of God. It were Atheism to ignore the treasures of Divine wisdom enshrined in the Vedas, and

the dramatic poetry of the Greeks, and the legendary lore of the nations of Northern Europe. There is a sense in which we can with truth speak of the inspiration of Homer, and of Æschylus, and of our own immortal Shakespeare. But whatever the inspiration which breathes in Myth, or Legend, and gives to the muse of history and philosophy the power to read the story of the past, or to disclose the secrets of the future, we must discriminate between such gifts and the plenitude of the powers which, on the day of Pentecost, were poured out on the expecting Church, as a bridal dower, from her ascended Lord and Head. These gifts the Bridegroom bestowed upon the Bride from His own Divine Person ; and they were intended to serve as a pledge and fore-taste of the communication and bestowal of the whole fulness of the Incarnate God upon that Mystical Body, which He came into the world to incorporate into Himself, and make a partaker of His uncreated Life. We may not then compare the inspiration which reveals earthly things with the inspiration which tells of heavenly things. We may not substitute the birth which is of the flesh and of the will of man, for the birth which is from above. We cannot feed with things of flesh and sense the life which is born of God ; it must be sustained by more than angel's food. [It is the work

of the Spirit in the economy of the Church to take of the things of Christ and make them effectual, whether for regeneration, or renewal, or illumination, or guidance, until the whole body grows up into Him who is the Head in all things. Now, it is this distinction which the doctrine of the double Procession seeks to enshrine and preserve, and without which it is impossible to discriminate aright between the economy of the Father and the economy of the Son. Whether we have regard to the attempt of Arius to elevate the Natural into the place of the Supernatural, or to that of Theodore of Mopsuestia to degrade the Supernatural into the place of the Natural, we shall find the true corrective in either case in the doctrine of the double Procession.

It is a mistake, as any candid historical examination of the matter will abundantly prove, to regard the Eastern and Western views of the theological question at issue as in antagonism to each other. The present attitude of antagonism between East and West is the result of political hostility and policy, not of theological opposition. The difficulty of the Greek view is not that it contradicts in any particular the Western doctrine, but that it is incomplete. It is good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. The Greek Fathers in asserting, as they do, the distinction

between the Second and the Third hypostasis in their relation to the First, leave unreconciled the mystery of that divine indwelling whereby the life of the everlasting Godhead is a circle complete in itself, ever unfolding and ever returning into itself. "It would much impair our idea of the unity of God in the Adorable Trinity," Dr. Pusey says, "did we conceive of two of the persons as having no relation to each other, except an independent relation to the One Father." Nor, as I have before had occasion to point out, is the language of S. John Damascene entirely unexceptionable in this particular. The term cause (*airia*), while admissible, is not altogether unexceptionable when applied to the Mystery of the Godhead. For if the Father be a cause then the Son must be of the nature of an effect, and so we introduce the idea of sequence into the relations of the Godhead. The same objection holds to the procession through (*dia*) the Son. It implies something of the nature of intervention or mediation in the mystery of the Godhead; an idea to which Gregory of Nyssa does not hesitate to give expression. But we are not to think of the communication of the Divine nature to the Son as admitting the possibility of mediation or intervention in the mystery of the Godhead. The Son's personality is of the plenitude of the

Father's substance. The truth is that Greek thought, in its attempts to formulate the doctrine of the Trinity, was all the time laboring with the difficulty which arises out of the use of material symbols. The same is true of Tertullian and the earlier Latin writers. But, as we advance, we find a notable law of historical progress in this respect between Theologians before and after the time of S. Augustine. The sun and its ray and the heat proceeding from both—the fountain and the stream and the water issuing forth therefrom—the root and the tree and the sap rising therein—these are the earliest images used to grasp, by means of material conceptions, the mystery of the divine relations. The difficulty with them all is that they are *material* images, and introduce the notions of cause and effect into things above and beyond time and sense. As time went on this was felt more and more, and we see the effort made by S. Augustine to seek for the explanation of the Divine Mystery not from things without, but from the spiritual constitution of man himself, as made in the image of God. Anselm in his *Monologium* followed up the teaching of S. Augustine, and it begins henceforth to be seen that the Word of God is no accident arising from Him, nor effect produced by Him. Neither is the procession of the Holy Ghost to be

taken according to that which obtains in things corporal, either by local motion, or by action of some cause to an outward effect, but the Wisdom of God and the Love of God are identical with His existence: in other words, it is the eternal law of Deity to exist in three Persons—a law as characteristic of His nature as it is to be wise and to be good. When we follow up the course of Western thought, then, we have not only a difference of point of view, but a difference also in the result arrived at. The eternal Father and the co-eternal Son, in whom, as in His image, God ever sees Himself reflected, are seen to be united together in the Holy Ghost, the law of whose being as Love is the principle of alliance between the Father and the Son.

“This Inexistence of the Divine persons,” Dr. Pusey says in his letter to Canon Liddon, “which our Divine Lord lays down in the words, ‘I am in the Father, and the Father in me,’ is essential to any intelligent conception of the Divine unity. The absence of the belief in it has been at the root of every heresy as to the Holy Trinity. Apart from the ‘from’ or ‘through’ it is contained in every expression that God the Holy Ghost is ‘in the Son,’ ‘is essentially inexistent in Him,’ is ‘in Him and His own,’ ‘in Him by nature.’

“In the order of the Divine existence con-

tained in the baptismal formula which our Lord prescribed to us, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Father, as our Lord says, ever exists in the Son, who eternally and unchangeably has His existence from Him in the immensity of the Godhead, and the Father and the Son being one ever inexist in the Holy Spirit, who is breathed forth from Both. Take away the belief, and the inexistence is gone. Such introduce division into the Godhead, a sort of duality of existence, the Father being supposed ever to produce the Son by generation, the Holy Ghost by procession, but God the Son and God the Holy Ghost having no relation to each other.

“The loss of the ‘and the Son,’ would to our untheological practical English (and American) mind involve the loss of the doctrine of the Trinity.”

It may be added that the Anglican Communion has never known any other faith. At its first Synod, held at Bishops Hatfield A.D. 680, after accepting the first five Councils, Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople II., and the Lateran Synod of 649, where the Monothelite heresy was condemned, the Synod declares in addition, “*et glorificamus dominum nostrum Jesum sicut isti glorificaverunt, nihil addentes, vel subtrahentes . . . glorificantes Deum*

Patrem sine initio et Filium ejus unigenitum ex Patre generatum ante saecula et Spiritum sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio inerrabiliter, sicut praedicavernnt hi quos memoravimus supra sancti apostoli et prophetae et doctores. Et nos omnes subscrispsimus qui cum Theodoro archiepiscopo fidem Catholicam exposauimus." The Homilies of *Ælfric* bear witness to the faith of the English Church before the Norman Conquest. There we find it said that "The Holy Ghost is the quickening God Who proceeds from the Father and the Son. How proceeds He from Him ? The Son is the wisdom of the Father, ever of the Father ; and the Holy Ghost is the will of them Both ; ever was the Holy Ghost Who is the Will and Love of them Both." "In mediæval England," Swete says, "the Filioque was instilled with equal care into clergy and people. Every bishop at his consecration was asked, 'Credis etiam Spiritum sanctum . . . a Patre Filioque procedentem ?' (Maskell, *ritualia eccl. Angl.* iii., p. 249.) The dying man was taught that one of the essentials of the Catholic Faith was to believe 'Spiritum Sanctum . . . a Patre et Filio pariter procedentem : si vis ergo salvus esse, frater (it was added,) ita de Mysterio Trinitatis sentias (Maskell, I., p. 75). One cannot open an English mediæval sermon-book and turn to the sermons

provided for Whitsuntide, without encountering an attack upon the Greeks in defence of the Latin view of the Procession. Finally, the English Reformation was so far from abandoning in this particular the lead of the Mediæval Church, that it laid fresh stress upon the *Filioque* (1) by importing it into the Litany, where the ancient *Spiritus Sancte Deus* was in 1544 rendered, ‘O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son ;’ and (2) by giving it a place in the Elizabethan Articles of 1563 (Hardwick, Hist. of the Articles, p. 127).’

It will be seen then (as the late Dr. Seabury, with his wonted force of argument, urged some eighteen years ago in a series of articles contributed to the *Church Journal* when the agitation of the omission of the *Filioque* from the Creed first began among us) that the question at issue is not “Shall we throw in our lot with the East or the West ?” as if it were a mere abstract question of choice with us ; nor is it, “Shall we take sides with Rome or with Constantinople ?” (for Rome is no more responsible for the insertion of the disputed clause than ourselves) ; but, “Is the Anglican Church, and its off-shoots, to hand down to future generations the faith as we have in the good Providence of God received the same from the beginning ?”

### III.

## APPENDIX.

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### ANCIENT CREEDS COMPARED.

#### (a) ROMAN AND AQUILEIAN CREEDS.

(*Italics* show the additions.)

*Forma Romana Vetera.*  
Circ. A.D. 841.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem;
2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum;
3. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine;
4. Sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus, et sepultus;
5. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;
6. Ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris;
7. Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos;
8. Et in Spiritum Sanctum;
9. Sanctam Ecclesiam;
10. Remissionem peccatorum;
11. Carnis resurrectionem.

*Ecclesia Aquileiensis.*  
Circ. A.D. 890.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem *invisibilem et impassibilem*;
2. Et in Jesum Christum, unicum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum;
3. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto *ex Maria Virgine*;
4. Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus;
5. *Descendit in inferna*, tercia die resurrexit a mortuis;
6. Ascendit in coelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris;
7. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.
8. Et in Spiritu Sancto;
9. Sanctam Ecclesiam;
10. Remissionem peccatorum;
11. *Hujus carnis resurrectionem.*

## (b) APOSTLES' CREED ACCORDING TO THE RECEIVED FORM.

*Forma Recepta.*  
Circ. A.D. 750.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terræ;
  2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum;
  3. Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine;
  4. Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus;
  5. Descendit ad inferna; tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;
  6. Ascendit ad coelos; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis;
  7. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.
  8. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum;
  9. Sanctam Ecclesiam; Sanctorum communionem;
  10. Remissionem peccatorum;
  11. Carnis resurrectionem;
  12. Vitam aeternam.
- Amen.

*Anglo-Saxon Creed of Aelfric.*  
Circ. A.D. 1080.

1. Ic gelyfe on God Faeder aelmihtigne, scyppend heofenan and eorhan :
2. And Ic gelyfe on Haelend Crist, his ancennendantan Sunu, Urne Dribten ;
3. Se waes geeacnod of tham Halgan Gaste, and acennen of Marian tham Mae-dene :
4. Gethrowod under tham Pontiscan Pilate, on rode abangen, he was dead and bebyrged ;
5. And he nyther astah to helle ; and he aras of deathe on tham thriddan daege ;
6. And he astah up to heofonam ; and sit nu aet swithran Godes aelmihtiges Faeder ;
7. Thanon he wyle cuman to demenne aegther ge tham cucum ge tham deadum :
8. And Ic gelyfe on thone Halgan Gast ;
9. And tha halgan gelathunge ; and haldena gemaen-nysse ;
10. And synna forgifens-yssse ;
11. And flaesoes aerist ;
12. And thaet ece lyf. Sy hit swa.

## (c) NICENE AND CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREEDS.

## GREEK.

Πιστέουμεν εἰς ἥνα θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, δρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ δοράτων.

Καὶ εἰς ἥνα Κύριον, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Τίλν τοῦ θεοῦ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός· θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φῶτος, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, διοσποιον τῷ Πατρὶ· δι' οὐ τὰ πάντα ἔγενετο, τὸν δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· παῦντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ἀνελθόντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον κρίναι (ῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Διον.

Πιστέουμεν εἰς ἥνα θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, δρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ δοράτων.

Καὶ εἰς ἥνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Τίλν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, [τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα τρὶς πάντων τῶν αἰόνων·] φῶς ἐκ φῶτος, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, διοσποιον τῷ Πατρὶ· δι' οὐ τὰ πάντα ἔγενετο, τὸν δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα [ἐν Πνεύματος ἀγύλον καὶ Μαρίας τῇ· ταρβένον,] καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· [σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν Ποντίου Πιλάτου,] καὶ παῦντα, [καὶ ταφέτα] καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, [καὶ καθεδόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός·] καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον [μετὰ δόξης] κρίναι (ῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· [οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐδὲ ἔσται τέλος].

Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Διον, [τὸ Κύριον, καὶ τὸ ὕστοιδι, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκτορευθμένον, τὸ σὸν Πατρὸς καὶ Τίφ συμπροσκυνόμενον, καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν τροφητῶν· Εἰς μίαν ἄγιαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποτολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· διολογοῦμεν ἐν βαπτίσμα εἰς βρεστιν ἀμφιτῶν, τροιδοκόμενον ἀπόστασις νεκρῶν, καὶ (ἰσὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰώνος]. Αμήν.

## ENGLISH.

*Nicene Creed of 325.<sup>1</sup>*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is, of the Substance of the Father, *God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God,* begotten, not made, Cons substancial with the Father. By Whom all things were made both in heaven and earth; Who for us men and for our salvation came down, and was incarnate, and was made man. He suffered and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven; and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost.

(The Anathema follows.)

<sup>1</sup> Italics show additions made.

*Constantinopolitan Creed of 381.<sup>1</sup>*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of *heaven and earth, and of all* things, visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father *before all worlds, Light of Light, Very God of Very God,* begotten, not made, being of the Substance with the Father. By Whom all things were made; Who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried, and the third day He rose again, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: and He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose Kingdom shall have no End.

And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord; and the Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spaketh by the Prophets.

In one Holy Catholic and Apostolical Church: We acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins, we look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

## (d) SPANISH AND ANGLO-SAXON CREEDS.

(Italics show additions made.)

*Symbolum Toletanum.*  
Circ. A.D. 633.

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem coeli et terrae, visibilem omnium et invisibilium conditorem ; et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia secula, *Deum de Deo*, lumen ex lumine, Deum verum ex vero Deo, natum, non factum, homousion Patri, hoc est ejusdem cum Patre substantiae, per quem omnia facta sunt quae in coelo et quae in terra, qui propter nos et propter nostram salutem descendit (de coelis) et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine homo factus (est), passus sub Pontio Pilato, sepultus, tertia die resurrexit, ascendit in coelos, sedet ad dexteram Patrios, inde venturus in gloria judicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.

Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantorem, *ex Patre et Filio procedentem*, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et glorificandum, qui locutus est per Prophetas ; et in unam Catholicam atque Apostolicam Ecclesiam ; confitemur unum

*Maesse Creda, Aelfric's Homilies.*  
Circ. A.D. 1030.

1. Ic gelyfe on aenne God Faeder aelmihtigne, wyr-cend, heofenan and eorthan, and ealra gesewenlicra thin-ga and ungesewenlicra :

2. And on aenne Crist Hael-lend, Drihten, thone ancen-dan Godes Sunu, of tham Faeder acenned aer ealle worulda, *God of Gode*, Leoht of Leohte, Sothne God of Sothum Gode, acennedne na geworhtne, efen—edwistlicne tham Faeder; thurh thone sind ealle thing geworthe :

3. Se for us mannum and for ure hæle, nither astah of heofenum, and weorth ge-flaeschedom of tham Halgan Gaste and of Marian tham Maedene, and wearth mann geworden :

4. He throwode eac swylce, on rode ahangen for us, and he was bebyrged.

5. And he aras on tham thridden daege, swa swa ge-writu sethath :

6. And he astah to heof-num, and he sitt aet swithran his Faeder.

7. And he eft cymth mid wuldre to demenne tham cu-cum and tham deadum ; and his rices ne bith nan ende.

8. And ic gelyfe on thone

baptisma in remissionem peccatorum; expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam futuri sæculi. Amen.

halgan Gast, thone liffaestendan God; Se gaeth of tham Faeder, and of tham Suna, ane se is mid tham Faeder and mid tham Suna gebenden and gewuldrod, and se spraec thurh witegan.

9. Ic andette tha anan halgan and tha geleaffullan and tha apostolican gela-thunge;

10. And an fulluht on forgyfennysse synna;

11. And Ic andbidige aeristes deadra manna;

12. And thaes ecan lifes thaere toweardan worulde.  
Sy hit swa.







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